1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

The Maricopa have transposed the normal Yuman word for south to west, a fact to which Dr. Kroeber has called my attention. For south they have substituted xasa.i'l, meaning salty water, the ocean; a word with identical meaning in all Yuman dialects known to me. There is cogency in this substitution, since the ocean in Maricopa mythology was set in the south and the Gulf of California lies substantially in that direction. If, as seems probable, kave' has come secondarily to mean "downriver" to the tribes residing on the lower Colorado, the Maricopa shift becomes intelligible: "downriver," i.e., down the Gila, is westward for them. And it may also argue their original location on the Colorado.

The word north is known to be that for wind, or contains the same stem, in several Yuman tongues, as Dr. Kroeber has also remarked (wind in Mohave is ma'thāk, and a possible case is Havasupai, ma'twi-, "wind"). Why this should be is anything but clear, because the prevailing winds of Arizona are southwesterly. But, although "wind" in Maricopa is matxa'c, my informants repudiated any connection with the word for north.

TABLE III

Tribes	North	West	East	South
Maricopa.....	matxa'vĭg	kave'	Inya'cāpa'k	xasa.i'l
Mohave.....	ma'thāk	.....	-'inya	ka'veik
Yuma.....	metva-	.....	.....	kavĕ-
Havasupai....	māta'vĭgâ	[ĭ]nyato'povĭ (sun's setting place)	[ĭ]nya'djâ'a'lovĕ (sun's rising place)	kâwe'vĭgâ
Walapai	mat'a-'v^{a}k^{a}	inya-to'po$^{\backprime}$ (sun sinks)	inyatc-al'lo$^{\backprime}$	kuwĕ'vek
Southeastern Yavapai	matava	inyadopo (where sun sets)	inyatcaauw (where sun rises)	weve
Northern Diegueño*.....	xitoL	awik	enyak	kawak

* Kroeber, *Phonetic Elements of Mohave*, pp. 62, 64, 82; *Handbook*, p. 800; Walapai Ms; Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 102; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, pp. 169, 265; Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 247; Waterman, *Religious Practices of the Diegueño*, p. 333.

Directional sequence and color-direction association occurred here as elsewhere in the Southwest, but was slight. Nor was this symbolical patterning stressed in any degree like the constant repetition of their pattern number, four. The order of mention of the cardinal points was always east, north, south, and west, it was said, that is, not in a circuit. But when requested for the names of directions, Kutox had volunteered east, north, west and south. Later he corrected this, saying he had been careless: sure-

823 ly evidence that the sequence had definite form. He knew little
[822] of color-directional association, beyond reminding me that in the
[538] tale "Flute Lure" everything to the west was described as yellow, to the east as red (although he had actually omitted this entirely while narrating the tale). Last Star declared that he knew of no association in story or usage beyond that of the Killdeer dance. It is likely that this was not the whole of their associational habit. It is apparent that east and west were more highly significant for the Maricopa and Halchidhoma. This was the orientation of houses, activities connected with the purification of warriors, cremation, mourning rites, and concepts of the land of the dead, for example. North and south were relatively indifferent. At best the directional association seems but little developed or stressed, which stands in marked contrast to the exuberant symbolism of this order among Pueblos and Navaho, or even Pima and Papago.

822 A request for color names yielded the following:

n,i'l,lg,	black	xama'l,ʌ,	white
ʌhwĕ'tàm,	red	k'wĕ'sàm,	yellow

xavàcu', blue, green (as the sky, grass, fresh leaves: the familiar blue-green confusion)
xacami', green (as slime in water, anything mouldy green)
lnyo'xlg, variegated (as a pinto horse)

Brown, gray, and the like were not known as colors. Deer, e.g., were described as like the ground, dirt-colored (ʌma'tlg). White, red, and black were said by Kutox to be the principal colors, "because they were our paints" (as paints called respectively matʌmâca'và, ʌgwe'rʌ, and kwĭnyil,ʌ).

802 Numeration in Maricopa-Halchidhoma was as follows:

1	cĕ'ndlg	11	caɣŭ'kʌmai'gcĕ'ndlg
2	ɣavi'k	12	caɣŭkʌmai'gɣavi'k
3	ɣamo'k	(13–19 were formed similarly)	
4	tcumpŏ'pk	20	caɣŭ'kʌɣavi'k
5	sana'pk	23	caɣu'kʌɣavi'k maigɣamo'k
6	ɣamʌɣu'k	30	caɣu'kʌɣamo'k
7	paɣkie'g	(40–90 were formed similarly)	
8	supɣu'k	100	clndclndlg
9	aylmɣamŏ'k	200	clʌɣavi'k
10	caɣŭ'k		

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

câma'g. As Mrs. Redbird put it when asked for the word for spirit, "The only way to express 'spirit' is that it comes in dreams." The word gwĭstama'tc, "one who has power," i.e., one who has dreamed, seems based on the same stem. The core of the concept seems to be that what we are here calling spirit and dream were shadowy doubles of the same thing, namely, the experience with spirits in dreams. Asked to explain how the spirits entered into dreams, Kutox gave a halting explanation. "Here is my shadow. Now the Owl somewhere sends his spirit to meet others. We call that hucamai'ĭg. If I am asleep here, there is my shadow. If the spirits wanted to talk to me, they would take me out, that is, that part of me something like my shadow." The word hucamai'ĭg was then rendered "shadows meeting each other," but it is palpably based on câma'g, "dream," not on matkwĭca', "shadow" (of a man, animal, or object), "reflection" (as in water). At another time he said that "a dreamer's shadow (matkwĭca') has the experience with the spirit birds, not his soul (wipai')." This is unsatisfactory: it is at once too vague and too much objectified. The difficulty seems to be that the Maricopa were not interested in sharply crystallizing the concept. So far as I can see it sums up in this fashion: what we are here calling a spirit has no existence or at least never manifests itself except in dreams: the dream is not as we would say a phantasy based on a particular physiological state, but is a state in which some spiritual quality of the dreamer goes out to meet the spirit: in other words, it is the dream experience which is at once the dream and the spirit.

The same concept and stem appeared in the words lucky, câma'sâxωtk (lit. "dream good"), and unlucky, câma'mŭk. These were explained as derived from the quality of one's dreams, which in turn depended on the time of night one dreamed. "To be lucky is to dream good. In the early evening one has bad dreams," and again "before dawn, when the spirit birds are fighting and eating each other, what with all their bloodstains, if one dreams of this he will get sick." Lucky dreams came in the middle of the night (see p. 248). On the other hand, some expressions for having power were based on another stem:

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Maricopa

787 ridge of the] Sierra Estrella from east to west, the bird talking all the way without pausing for breath. Then he tries the dreamer. When he too can do this he is ready as an orator.

There is one war leader, the only man who dreams of going after the enemy. When he dies, another takes his place at dreaming this. He dreams of overcoming danger and killing enemies. He dreams only of being successful in his fights. In his dreams he could see certain little flies (kumanyihwi') fighting up in the air. He saw by the way they fought how he should act to be successful in his battles. He also dreams he sees certain cacti (ᵃxu'l), in the form of humans, fighting. When they see he is fitted for his position, the spirit [*sic*] takes him into a large cave inside the mountain in enemy territory. As he enters he sees a club, a shield, and a spear hanging on the walls of the house. Each time he is taken there, they give him a chance to use one of these. He keeps practising until he has used them all. Then he leads his people to war.

787 822 The dream was also patterned on the four-fold division of the night; a pattern which was omnipresent in Maricopa thought. It appeared in the conduct of meetings, in the organization of curing by shamans, in orations to the dying, and in songs. These divisions were named "went down," evening; "old night," the middle of the night (its major part); "nearing," before dawn; and "dawn."[6] Significant dreams occurred at any time during the night according to the following statements, but those that were favorable came only in the middle hours.

When they dream of animals, birds, and insects, the night is as clear as daylight. In the first part of the night, it makes the dreamer kind of wild. The animals and other beings will eat each other. Hence a child is kept awake during [513] the early part of the night, until ten o'clock, to avoid this. In the early evening [853] one has bad dreams.

After sunset, the birds, animals, and even the spirits of trees are moving around, so if you go to bed early you will have bad dreams. In the second part of the night, they have settled down to quiet. Then is the time one will not dream of anything bad. They do not say anything about the third part of the night.

[823] There is a saying that there is a person standing in the west and another in the [827] east, who between them swing the whole world so that everybody sleeps, just as a baby is swung to sleep.

At dawn, the larger birds (eagle and hawk) begin to wake and kill the little birds and insects. Blood stains are everywhere. If anybody still sleeps in this atmosphere, he will dream of bad things. So they wake children and young peo- [855] ple before the sun rises.

[753] Toward early morning, before dawn, the spirit birds are fighting and eating [773] each other, all with bloodstains. If one dreams of this he will get sick. That is why people always wake their children before sunrise.

[6] See p. 145.

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533 801 [822] [787] Mrs. Redbird meant that the cycle as a whole was divided into four groups of songs or that the individual songs came in clusters of four. Four major groups was probably meant, since this would then represent the fourfold division of the night and of the dream experience narrated in the song. Yet it is possible that both types of grouping occurred since the pattern of fours was so strong among the Maricopa. The songs in sequence were "in different tunes," she said; illustrating by the contrast of verse and chorus in our own songs. "The sets of songs in any cycle sometimes came in fours, depending on the story the songs told. There would be four different tunes. But there were also sets of twos and threes; not always in fours."

533 A single song will illustrate the type of all. The song il,ica'c told how the little birds or animals of the air were preparing to go to a celebration that was under way; how they got there and how they behaved. "The middle part of the night," it told how they thought they should not spend the whole night there; how they decided it better to go home, and how they left the celebration. It went on "to tell that toward morning," those who stayed there all night were tired and sleepy; how their husbands and children starved in the morning, and how those who had returned had prepared breakfast for their families. Here is explicitly the quartering of the night: the journey of the early night, the dance of the middle part, the return before morning, and morning itself. There is only doubt whether the rendering of the song through a night's singing did not also conform to this quartering; that "the middle part of the night" does not also refer to the songs sung during that period. But even so, the narrative would conform to pattern.

It is doubtful that there was any element common to all songs other than the experiences of the night. It was said that "they sang about Coyote in every song and mentioned him in every tale." This probably means no more than that Coyote figured frequently in song and story. Similarly, it may be presumed that Pima Butte, with Sierra Estrella a sacred mountain, was commonly sung about since "the spirits always take a man there first" in his dreams.

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192 756 [648] cure" was translated by my interpreter into Maricopa as axna'l-mĭtce"vĭk, "gourd [rattle] singing."[30] This may be because they now call in Pima shamans.

755 Usually at a cure several old men sat beside the shaman to lend him their strength, but they did not sing.

[276] Before the shaman began, he smoked two or three cigarettes or even four if the patient was very sick. He also stopped from time to time to smoke. "The shaman felt weak without his tobacco, like a man without food and water. He smoked to make himself feel strong." It is not clear that the shaman blew smoke over the sick man. Last Star did not mention it as part of the [115] procedure and his statement that the shaman stopped to smoke implies otherwise. Kutox, on the other hand, said that he blew smoke over the patient's body, but did not describe it in his own cure, cited below. The tobacco used by shamans did not differ from that of the layman.

533 755 The shaman sang two songs or four over the patient when he knew he would recover. Only if the patient was seriously ill did the shaman begin singing from the first. "His songs were like prayers." He sang them to gain strength. These were songs he had learned in dreams and which he used only when curing; otherwise he kept them secret. The songs told how the spirit had taken him to the mountain tops to reveal the cures, but they did not describe this explicitly. In the course of his songs he named the disease and told the patient that "when he heard these songs he might get well."[31]

● [822] If, while singing, the shaman mentioned only things that were white (birds or whatever) and called the patient's breath white, 533 755 763 the auditors were sure he would get well. But if he changed these references to black, the patient was doomed. On the fourth night (theoretically a shaman was given four nights to effect a cure), if

[114] [30] Forde's Yuma informant, ascribing the use of a rattle to the Maricopa, was presumably mistaken (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 198).

[171] [31] Informants had never heard of curing by the songs of animals diagnosed as causing the disease, as did the Pima; such causes being foreign to their belief. Possible exceptions were the singing of Blackbird song for sickness "caused by the deer" and the belief that rabbits caused illness and supplied its cure.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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Pima NU 29

P R 135 these metals exist within the limits of the several reservations. A few adventurers claim that if the Indian title to the land could be extinguished enterprising miners would soon develop paying quantities of the precious metals, but such statements need verification.

P R 764 CUSTOMS AND RELIGION.—Should one of the tribe die, it was formerly the practice to burn the tent, hunt and kill all the animals owned by the deceased, and destroy all his property; but such practices have been abandoned within the past 15 years. Their mode of burial now is to dig a grave 5 or 6 feet in depth, then dig a vault at one side large enough to receive the body, fill the grave, and cover it with poles or brush, probably to prevent the violation of sepulture by the coyotes. Several such Indian burying grounds may now be seen on the Gila River reservation.

P R 797 Viewed from a religious standpoint, a steady advance has been made within the past 18 years, though the progress has been slow. The Presbyterian church has erected a small adobe chapel at this agency, in which Sunday school and other services are held every week and are well attended. In addition, a small adobe chapel has been erected and partially completed at Blackwater village, about 12 miles east of the agency, but within the limits of the reservation, with a church membership of 22, about equally divided between the sexes. The Pimas have 2 church buildings, valued at $2,000.

P R 177 262 342 PROGRESS.—The material and economic progress made by the Pima and Maricopa tribes within the past 15 years is quite noticeable. Formerly all carcasses of horses and mules which fell on the great road stretching along the south bank of the Gila river, through what is now the Pima reservation, were quickly appropriated by the Indians and used as food. Their dwellings were then miserable huts, built of brush and weeds; now there are nearly 100 adobe houses, and a large number of their huts are built of willows and sticks, well plastered on the sides and roof with adobe, those among them who can do so building houses in the Mexican style. According to a count made July 1, 1890, out of 580 dwellings of all kinds 80 were adobe houses.

P R 177 648 241 The agent is encouraging improvements by issuing a new wagon to each Indian who builds a house, imposing the condition that the wagon shall be properly cared for and housed. On the fulfillment of certain other conditions he issues a plow or harrow, thus encouraging improved methods of farming. The Indians quite readily avail themselves of these opportunities, and since September 1, 1889, there have been issued 22 wagons, 12 sets of harness, 30 plows, 200 shovels, 200 hoes, 50 iron rakes, 100 axes, 100 sickles, and 40 swamp hooks. The Pimas are self-supporting, receiving no rations or annuities and no gifts from the government except farming tools, and their desire for these implements shows the progress that is being made in agriculture among them.

P R 177 291 [822] [302] In dress great progress has been made in adopting that of the whites. Probably one-half of the men wear shirts, pants, shoes, and hats; one-third go barefoot; rarely one may be seen at his cabin without covering to the legs. Some of the children wear very little clothing. The women wear no shoes in warm weather. A scanty skirt, with blouse waist, suffices for their covering, except that they wear a shawl, or a cheap substitute for one, drawn around their shoulders without folds and falling to the knees. No covering for the head is worn except when the shawl is drawn over it. Red is the prevailing color of the dress; the brighter it is the more desirable it will be. The hair is parted in the middle and combed back, and is usually worn long by both sexes, but the men have been encouraged to cut their hair short and wear hats, and efforts in this direction are meeting with some success.

P R 177 273 548 [579] [648] MORALS OF THE PIMAS AND MARICOPAS.—Drunkenness, prostitution, theft, and gambling may be classed as the prevailing vices of these Indians. According to the best authority attainable drunkenness is on the increase among the Pimas. The cause of this increase may be traced to contact with the whites, who sell them intoxicants. They manufacture a cheap fermented liquor from corn or cactus fruit and indulge in drinking at their dances; but drinking does not appear to be more common with them than among the whites, and, indeed, one has but to stand by any of the many open bars of the territory to become convinced that drinking prevails extensively among the superior race. Cases of prostitution are too common, but do not seem to be increasing. Instances of brawls and quarrels are not frequent unless some of the parties are drunk. Fifty Indian boys attending school will pursue boisterous games day after day and never engage in a quarrel or a fight. The Pimas as a tribe are peaceful, and claim that they never warred with the whites, but were obliged to take up the hatchet against their ancient enemies, the Apaches, in order to preserve their existence, and having quieted them, they returned to their peaceful avocations.

P R 164 DISEASES.—The tribe is more or less tainted with venereal diseases. The Indians are scattered over the reservation, and the agency physician attends to but a small portion of those who are sick. No reliable statistics of diseases and deaths have ever been collected, and it is impossible to determine with any great degree of accuracy the proportion of deaths resulting from the several diseases or accidents. The agency physician reports the diseases as scrofula, consumption, conjunctivitis, and syphilis. Rheumatism prevails to some extent, but owing to the mildness of the climate it is not as prevalent as among tribes farther north. Scrofulous swellings on the neck and scrofulous ulcers are often seen. One old resident thinks that from 10 to 20 per cent of the deaths are due to consumption. The physician claims that a large majority of the cases of scrofula and conjunctivitis can be traced to a syphilitic taint.

P R [755] The Indians can not be relied upon to administer medicines furnished and prescribed by the physician. A large majority of them lack faith in prescribed remedies. They prefer the singing and howling of the medicine man.

823

823 ETHNOGEOGRAPHY--notions about water; ideas about hydrographic phenomena (e.g., oceans and seas, waves and tides, currents and whirlpools, rivers and streams, lakes and springs, floods); ideas about topographic phenomena (e.g., hills and mountains, canyons and valleys, caves and grottoes, striking natural formations, volcanoes and earthquakes); notions about minerals, metals, and precious stones; geographical and geological lore; directions (e.g., upstream and downstream, cardinal points); ideas about the beauty of nature; associated behavior patterns (e.g., attempts to quell earthquakes); etc. See also:

Geographical environment 13
Settlements 36
Place names 103
Land use 311
Water supply 312
Routes and maps 487
Disaster relief 731
Flood myths and mythical cataclysms . . . 773
Nature spirits and monsters 776
Surveying 804
Development of scientific geology and geography 815

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homar[4], became a comet (xŏmcearŏsŏ'p).[10] Its appearance betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster. A variant of this segment of the tale, given in this connection, was as follows: 821 [787]

An old woman started from the north with her grandson. When they had gone halfway, they said, "We have no home to go to. It would not be right for us to go to live with somebody else." As they stood thinking what to do, the little boy said, "I shall be a comet. People shall never see me except at the time a well-known person is going to die." He also said, "If they should happen to see a streak across the northern sky, people will know there is going to be sickness all over the world." As he said this, he changed himself into a comet. We see this once in a while. [773]

Eclipses were called ĭnyacâpu'i, "the sun dies," and xălăcâpu'i, "the moon dies." No reason was assigned for the phenomena and there were no observances when they occurred. "We don't do anything [for the lunar eclipse], because they say it is the white man who uses his own trick on the moon." One eclipse of the sun was recalled, dating to possibly ninety years ago:[11]

An old man told Kŭtox that when he [the old man] was a baby his mother was gathering mesquite beans at midday, when the sun was totally eclipsed. It was dark everywhere; the birds began to chirp and one could see the stars. The sun soon came back. They did nothing about it. [173]

An earthquake (mat[4]hĕ'nk, "earth shakes") was not considered significant. The reason assigned for quakes was that when the twin culture heroes died after the creation, they went back to lie under the earth; now when they are tired, they yawn and stretch, causing the earth to shake. 823

Kutox remembered an earthquake when he was twelve years old (about 1859–60) and another fourteen years after they moved to Laveen from Sacate (about 1884). The annals above mention an earthquake in 1887–88.[12] [173]

Thunder and lightning were two anthropomorphic beings in the sky. They had no names (the natural phenomena were re- 821

[10] Definitely not a meteor.

[11] Possibly the solar eclipse of November 30, 1834, but the season as indicated by gathering mesquite is wrong (Oppolzer, *Canon der Finsternisse*).

[12] The 1884 and 1887 earthquakes are probably the same, i.e., that of May 3, 1887, unless the earlier was the slight quake of July 6, 1886 (Heck, *Earthquake History*, pp. 51, 54).

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Maricopa

821 spectively xuk'ŏs and xurŏ'v[4]). People say the thunder strikes, not the lightning. They cry out to children, "Come into the house! The thunder will split you in two." Arrowheads (presumably those found in ruins) were dangerous for one to carry about; the thunder would be sure to strike him. They did not go close to a lightning-struck tree nor burn its wood: it would make them sick. Thunder was not associated with war by the Maricopa.

[773] Men who dream of it say thunder and lightning have the form of human beings. One of them wears red clothing; the other is naked except for a skin around his loins. The latter carried a bow and arrow in his hands all the time. He has long bushy hair hanging over his shoulders. The man with red clothing does nothing but stand with arms folded: in talking to the other, he stretches his arms out, which makes the lightning. The one with the bow shoots at the same time: that is thunder.

What clouds are made of was not known, but "they come in [171] the form of human beings";[13] a fundamental belief in the Pueblos. The Maricopa held that the Yavapai told the clouds to go to some spot in the Gila valley, so that it would cease raining where they lived.

The appearance of a rainbow (kwâlice'rc) indicated the end of rain. A halo or corona seen around the moon (xal,ă'c kârâu'kâm, "moon's ring") was not regarded as significant.

The whirlwind was a ghost, that is, one of the several souls each person had.

825 Little bees seen making holes in the ground was regarded as a
805 sign of approaching spring.

DIRECTIONS, COLORS, AND NUMBERS

823 Six directions were named: the four cardinal points, zenith, and nadir.

Inya'cȧpa'k or Inya'djȧpa'k, "sun's rising place," or Inya', "sun," east
matxa'vĭg, matxa'k, north
kave', gĭve' or Inyaxa'pk, "sun went that way," west
xasa.i'l, south (lit. "salty water")
ȧmai', up (lit. "sky")
ȧma't, down (lit. "earth")

The term In,uxa'vȧ or In,uxa'p was volunteered for northwest, but this is palpably the term for west.

[13] The tale "Cloud and Wind" was told to exemplify this belief.

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Maricopa

The Maricopa have transposed the normal Yuman word for south to west, a fact to which Dr. Kroeber has called my attention. For south they have substituted xasa.i'l, meaning salty water, the ocean; a word with identical meaning in all Yuman dialects known to me. There is cogency in this substitution, since the ocean in Maricopa mythology was set in the south and the Gulf of California lies substantially in that direction. If, as seems probable, kave' has come secondarily to mean "downriver" to the tribes residing on the lower Colorado, the Maricopa shift becomes intelligible: "downriver," i.e., down the Gila, is westward for them. And it may also argue their original location on the Colorado.

The word north is known to be that for wind, or contains the same stem, in several Yuman tongues, as Dr. Kroeber has also remarked (wind in Mohave is ma'thāk, and a possible case is Havasupai, ma'twi-, "wind"). Why this should be is anything but clear, because the prevailing winds of Arizona are southwesterly. But, although "wind" in Maricopa is matxa'c, my informants repudiated any connection with the word for north.

TABLE III

Tribes	North	West	East	South
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Mohave.....	ma'thāk	.....	-'inya	ka'veik
Yuma.....	metva-	.....	.....	kavē-
Havasupai....	māta'vĭgā	[ĩ]nyato'povĭ (sun's setting place)	[ĩ]nya'djā'a'lovĕ (sun's rising place)	kāwe'vĭgā
Walapai	mat'a-'v"k"	inya-to'po' (sun sinks)	inyatc-al'lo'	kuwĕ'vek
Southeastern Yavapai	matava	inyadopo (where sun sets)	inyatcaauw (where sun rises)	weve
Northern Diegueño*.....	xitot	awik	enyak	kawak

* Kroeber, *Phonetic Elements of Mohave*, pp. 62, 64, 82; *Handbook*, p. 800; Walapai Ms; Forde, *Yuma Ethnography*, p. 102; Spier, *Havasupai Ethnography*, pp. 169, 265; Gifford, *Southeastern Yavapai*, p. 247; Waterman, *Religious Practices of the Diegueño*, p. 333.

Directional sequence and color-direction association occurred here as elsewhere in the Southwest, but was slight. Nor was this symbolical patterning stressed in any degree like the constant repetition of their pattern number, four. The order of mention of the cardinal points was always east, north, south, and west, it was said, that is, not in a circuit. But when requested for the names of directions, Kutox had volunteered east, north, west and south. Later he corrected this, saying he had been careless: sure-

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823 [822] [538] ly evidence that the sequence had definite form. He knew little of color-directional association, beyond reminding me that in the tale "Flute Lure" everything to the west was described as yellow, to the east as red (although he had actually omitted this entirely while narrating the tale). Last Star declared that he knew of no association in story or usage beyond that of the Killdeer dance. It is likely that this was not the whole of their associational habit. It is apparent that east and west were more highly significant for the Maricopa and Halchidhoma. This was the orientation of houses, activities connected with the purification of warriors, cremation, mourning rites, and concepts of the land of the dead, for example. North and south were relatively indifferent. At best the directional association seems but little developed or stressed, which stands in marked contrast to the exuberant symbolism of this order among Pueblos and Navaho, or even Pima and Papago.

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n,i'l,lg,	black	xama'l,ᵃ,	white
ᵃhwĕ'tam,	red	k'wĕ'sam,	yellow

xavâcu', blue, green (as the sky, grass, fresh leaves: the familiar blue-green confusion)
xacami', green (as slime in water, anything mouldy green)
Inyo'alg, variegated (as a pinto horse)

Brown, gray, and the like were not known as colors. Deer, e.g., were described as like the ground, dirt-colored (ᵃma'tlg). White, red, and black were said by Kutox to be the principal colors, "because they were our paints" (as paints called respectively matᵃmâca'vâ, ᵃgwe'rᵃ, and kwĭnyil,ᵃ).

802 Numeration in Maricopa-Halchidhoma was as follows:

1	cĕ'ndlg	11	caxŭ'kâmai'gcĕ'ndlg
2	xavi'k	12	caxŭkâmai'gxavi'k
3	xamo'k	(13–19 were formed similarly)	
4	tcumpŭ'pk	20	caxŭ'kâxavi'k
5	xaxa'pk	23	caxu'kâxavi'k maigxamo'k
6	xamᵃxu'k	30	caxu'kâxamo'k
7	paxkie'g	(40–90 were formed similarly)	
8	supxu'k	100	clndclndlg
9	nyĭmxamŏ'k	200	clnxavi'k
10	caxŭ'k		

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535 A spectacular dance called Moving the King Around (xanavare' gicpa'cam, "to move out the king") may have been coupled with the song Dragonfly (xanavare'). The word xanavare' meant not only dragonfly, but the leader of the whites, as king or President. This looks like the confusion of a native term for the insect with a Maricopazation of Spanish *general*. The reference in this dance was to Montezuma, a figure of local myths, who was identified in some fashion unknown to me with the Sierra Estrella. The mountain was called "Man lying on his back" beside its esoteric name "Berdache Mountain," and a peak at the eastern end, "Two heads." These are recorded on modern maps as "Montezuma Sleeping" and "Montezuma's Head." The word mŏntĕsu'm, according to Mrs. Redbird, meant "unknown people"! The performance was based on the circumstance that "in the early morning the Sierra Estrella looks as though there was a great building there, a castle, or a row of cottonwood trees, or the like. It will stand this way for a time and suddenly disappear." This is simply due to the morning light sharply defining the pinnacles on its northeastern front for a time.

The man "who started it again [the song?] said he was going to make something like they see in that mountain." He painted a cloth to resemble the mountain. He danced with others, all "going around" several times; then he stretched the painted cloth to cover them all. Baskets were used to mark time; some beaten, others scraped. This dance took place in the open during the day. "They thought it the greatest performance ever held. He never tried it again."

The dance forms of the Maricopa appear in summary as two alone: a circular dance and one in which two opposed lines of dancers trotted backward and forward together. The circular form was used in the big social dances described above, the scalp dance, and with Mountain Killdeer singing. The direction of movement was counterclockwise in all three, as in all Maricopa

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[171] Pima (cf. J. A. Mason, *Papago Harvest Festival;* Davis, *Papago Ceremony;* Russell, *Pima Indians*, pp. 266, 328; Parsons, *Notes on Pima*, pp. 461 f.; Curtis, II, 12).

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787 learned, the person then smeared ashes over the man's lips, and, turning his back
[533] on him, struck him on the mouth, taking away the song. He told his daughters it was taken away because he talked too much. He was a notorious chatterer.

787 While it was decidedly advantageous for one to begin dream-
831 ing while still a child, there was real danger in overdoing it, in dreaming too much. A boy or girl "who dreamed too much of any one thing" would suffer a change of sex. "They had, in fact, too much of this dreaming; that is why they changed their mode of life. The change was caused by some spirit." Transvestites were never shamans; although they had been given the power
[838] to cure and sing, they had been given too much. The other spirits might interfere, taking the boy and changing him into a
[881] woman. Sex changed at puberty, "about the time the voice changed."

On the other hand, the same informant ascribed the trans-
787 formation to a dream of a specific type. It was believed the
● 823 Sierra Estrella had a berdache living inside, hence the name of
838 the mountain, ʻvial,xa", "berdache mountain." "Any man who dreams of this will become a berdache." Another mountain at Yuma, called by the same name, also had the power to transform men. "As one sees them in dreams, the two mountains are young girls." The Sierra Estrella invited the mountain at Yuma to play games. If the Yuma mountain, e.g., lost, then the Yuma lost a man; he became a berdache. ("But to us as we now look at it, we would never think it could do this.")

The signs of transformation came early in childhood; which corroborates the statements that all courses of dreaming began at that time.

838 When a boy begins to toddle, they would not think of letting him run around without bow and arrow, nor a little girl without a basket to use like her mother.
[868] But if the boy was going to become a berdache (ĺl,ẋaxai': cf. cĺl,ẋaxai'g, "girlish," mâcaẋai, "girl"), he threw away his bow and took a basket or continually used a metate. Older people would comment, "He is going to turn out to be a berdache"; by his actions, they knew he would change sex.

If they did not wish to embarrass transvestites by calling them ĺl,ẋaxai', the word yĕsa'a'n, "barren man or woman," was used.

588 Such transformations were rare. Kutox remembered but one berdache in his
838 day and another in the previous generation, with not more than one transformed woman at a time. Berdaches behaved like women; gathering mesquite, etc. They always went about with women, not with men. They married men and had

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787 ridge of the] Sierra Estrella from east to west, the bird talking all the way without pausing for breath. Then he tries the dreamer. When he too can do this he is ready as an orator.

There is one war leader, the only man who dreams of going after the enemy. When he dies, another takes his place at dreaming this. He dreams of overcoming danger and killing enemies. He dreams only of being successful in his fights. In his dreams he could see certain little flies (kumanyihwi') fighting up in the air. He saw by the way they fought how he should act to be successful in his battles. He also dreams he sees certain cacti (ʰɨu'l), in the form of humans, fighting. When they see he is fitted for his position, the spirit [*sic*] takes him into a large cave inside the mountain in enemy territory. As he enters he sees a club, a shield, and a spear hanging on the walls of the house. Each time he is taken there, they give him a chance to use one of these. He keeps practising until he has used them all. Then he leads his people to war.

787 822 The dream was also patterned on the four-fold division of the night; a pattern which was omnipresent in Maricopa thought. It appeared in the conduct of meetings, in the organization of curing by shamans, in orations to the dying, and in songs. These divisions were named "went down," evening; "old night," the middle of the night (its major part); "nearing," before dawn; and "dawn."[6] Significant dreams occurred at any time during the night according to the following statements, but those that were favorable came only in the middle hours.

When they dream of animals, birds, and insects, the night is as clear as daylight. In the first part of the night, it makes the dreamer kind of wild. The animals and other beings will eat each other. Hence a child is kept awake during [513] the early part of the night, until ten o'clock, to avoid this. In the early evening [855] one has bad dreams.

After sunset, the birds, animals, and even the spirits of trees are moving around, so if you go to bed early you will have bad dreams. In the second part of the night, they have settled down to quiet. Then is the time one will not dream of anything bad. They do not say anything about the third part of the night.

There is a saying that there is a person standing in the west and another in the [823] east, who between them swing the whole world so that everybody sleeps, just [827] as a baby is swung to sleep.

At dawn, the larger birds (eagle and hawk) begin to wake and kill the little birds and insects. Blood stains are everywhere. If anybody still sleeps in this atmosphere, he will dream of bad things. So they wake children and young people [855] before the sun rises.

Toward early morning, before dawn, the spirit birds are fighting and eating [753] each other, all with bloodstains. If one dreams of this he will get sick. That is [773] why people always wake their children before sunrise.

[6] See p. 145.

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554 with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, cer-
776 tain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus (*xu'l) figured
787 as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of
[821] Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this constellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which might have been the spirit involved.

776 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers
787 is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds.
811 Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird
825 and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

Other associations depend for comprehension on certain be-
[753] liefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeopathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
[775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
[773] founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coyote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the culture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and ani-
787 mals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured
● 823 as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered. Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turning away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought especially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella, Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the

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Maricopa
Mohave
Yuma

Salt-Gila junction (but curiously enough called xagâvĭcâʊo', "water divider"; possibly an outlier of the Sierra Estrella). The Salt River Range was known as "greasy mountain" (vikwaxa's) as the scene of the incident in the Creation tale where Coyote finished eating the culture hero's heart and wiped his greasy hands. "They thought of these four mountains as their own because they lived between them. They were not safe beyond these limits." However, certain mountains beyond these were selected as of the same nature: ᵃvikatcâkwi'n,â, "granary basket mountain," the Mohawk Mountains halfway down the Gila; vi'iʊo', "willow mountain," south of Prescott; another lying northeast of this, called viakâvânau', "ridge pole mountain," because of its level top; and 'ikwĭmkwima'tc, "dancing with horns," somewhat to the east of the last. "The people long ago called these mountains theirs." Four Peaks in Yavapai country, a mountain near Yuma (called vial,xa", "berdache mountain"), and the sacred mountain of the Mohave (vikwâme') near Needles also had spirit qualities.

The most significant of these were Pima Butte and the Sierra Estrella. The former (viva'vâ, "solitary mountain") figures very much like the sacred mountain Avikwame for the Mohave, or the San Francisco Peaks for the Havasupai. "They praise this little butte because when a man begins to dream, the spirits always take him there first.[10] It is famous even among the Mohave and Yuma." This butte and another south of it were thought to fight with Four Peaks and another mountain on its north side. These represented respectively the Maricopa and the Yuma-Mohave-Yavapai. Depending on which pair of mountains won, so it would fare with humans. A better expression of mountains as partisans is the following.

The man who dreams of war says the Sierra Estrella owns the Maricopa, Pima and Papago: Four Peaks owns the Yavapai. These two are always debating. When Four Peaks wins the debate this one (Sierra Estrella) mourns. Then Four Peaks is happy; he sings and dances, for his people will win in battle.

[10] I understood Last Star to state that a shaman was always first taken to a high hill (called matâu'lgwĭsiʊe'ᵀc, "high dirt that is a shaman") on the north bank of the Gila, opposite Pima Butte. This is an insignificant hill; hence I was presumably mistaken.

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Maricopa
Kaveltcadom
Yuma

776 823 Sierra Estrella was thought to have a berdache living in it, hence its name, vial,xa", "berdache mountain." As explained above, this mountain gambled with the similarly named mountain near Yuma to see which should lose a warrior, who became a berdache. Presumably these two mountains also were thought to contend for the success of their people in war, because it was said of the Mohawk Mountains:

> It lies midway between the Yuma and the Kaveltcadom, so that it belongs to both people. It does not take one side, but always agrees with the mountain here or at Yuma as to which people shall die.

776 787 In dreams the faunal spirits at least appeared in human guise, or rather, as might be expected, their aspect fluctuated between avian or animal form and the anthropomorphic. "Those who see the coyote, eagle, or buzzard in dreams describe them as a boy or girl going along." "Some people dream of dogs who appear as persons." The dogs tell how they are abused by people and instruct the dreamer to tell this." Dogs are persons; that is why [825] Kutox did not beat his really annoying curs. Again in the vision recounted above: "So the owl turned around and rubbed himself all over. Then the owl stood in front of him in human form." [821] The case is somewhat different with Thunder and Lightning, which were conceived outright as anthropomorphic beings. Such a fluctuating conception of birds and animals would seem an inevitable result of crediting them with human intelligence and speech.

[614] There was no tendency to dream of one's sib totems. This is curious, because some totems, such as buzzard, eagle, and coyote, were repeatedly mentioned as spirits. Perhaps all totems were spirits: this is not clear. The failure to integrate dream ex- [182] perience with the social structure is not surprising, because the totems themselves were left functionless in relation to the sib system. Maricopa thought was accretive, rather than systematizing.

THE SONGS AND SONG CYCLES

533 787 The dream experience had its counterpart in song. The Maricopa say that songs were dreamed. They imply that all songs

" As exemplified in the tale of the Dog Champion, p. 396.

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783 young man's hair for him. Even then this man would not dare
825 touch a drinking utensil after having touched the feather he wore, else those who used it would get sick. Kutox said he would not touch an eagle feather for anything!

Clairvoyants could reveal the whereabouts of the enemy or
787 forecast his coming. The clairvoyant shaman who accompanied
726 a war party into the mountains, one who dreamed of Buzzard or Coyote, smoked four cigarettes and fell as though dead. His smoking was thought to lift him high into the air. When he recovered he told how Buzzard had taken him to the highest mountain where the location and numbers of the enemy were revealed and how easily they might be slain. The war party then set off following his leadership.

To foretell if enemies were approaching on stormy nights when they might be expected, a shaman performed in the meeting house. His spirit was unknown to the informant. The per-
[823] formance was predicated on the belief that the mountains of the several tribal territories were partisans of their inhabitants. Four piles of dirt were made in the meeting house. This shaman went to each in turn, stooped, and sucked it up, groaning all the while. When he finished the fourth pile, he dropped "dead." They put him with a rattle in a little hut built inside the meeting house. Then the mountains came "in the form of persons": the audience felt the draft as they entered. "The house might be crowded, yet they could hear the mountain talk in there." A mountain would take the rattle, asking "How did they come to kill this man [the shaman]? What is wrong that you killed him?" The mountain spirit would say, "I am tired," and act the part. A man sitting beside the "dead" shaman answered, "Yes, I know you are tired, having come a long way. But this night we fear the enemy; for that reason we called you here." The mountain would reply, "No, the enemy are not thinking of you; perhaps some other time but not now. If you do not believe me, another person [mountain] will tell you." Then it left and immediately another mountain entered. "Even the mountain at Yuma came: it spoke Yuma." Then a mountain of Papago land came in; immediately the other left. The Papago mountain would say,

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Maricopa
Yuma
Halchidhoma

in it. When the loon (xalyâpu'kc), flying high in the air, cried out, this also announced the advent of "a terrible disease." It was heard just before the influenza epidemic of 1918 which carried off many of their number. The appearance of a comet also betokened the death of a prominent person or a general disaster.

A young chicken crowing like a rooster was a portent of death in its owner's family. If one's possessions made an unexpected noise, the owner would die. Similarly, if a snake crawled into the house an inmate would die. "The snake says he has come to the funeral."

Before my interpreter's father died, her mother went out one night. She sat down. Suddenly she felt something very cold. Looking down, she saw a little rattlesnake coiled around her ankle. She was too frightened to scream. It uncoiled, crawled a foot or two, and coiled again. She tried to drive it away, but it was dead. Next day a big rattler came to the door and coiled up. It did not rattle before they killed it. Soon after, the man died.

The tale Dog Champion (p. 396) yields several omens: a skull speaks, a pot cries out, a log groans; all presaging disaster to the Yuma at the hands of the Halchidhoma.

It was believed that certain actions would bring on sickness: handling a chickenhawk, or anything it had killed; or a boy eating the game he killed. Similarly, if a father ate the game he killed, his child would sicken. (Surely this conflicts with practice.) Arrowheads (those that were found ?) were dangerous to have: the thunder would be sure to strike one who carried them about.[38] Lightning-struck trees were avoided for fear of sickness. If a turtle shell was put over a child it would grow no more.

In a myth (p. 374) it is noted that killing various desert birds and insects will cause rain to fall: cactus wren, a bird called vitâpana', and tarantula.

The prehistoric ruins were believed to have been occupied by a people, who like themselves, were created by the culture heroes. They were called pipain,iko'R, "old people."

In the mountains to the northwest were the footprints of a giant, who figures in a tale (p. 409). There was no belief in dwarfs or water-babies in the mountains.

[38] The Papago also associated them with lightning, believing they are to be found where lightning has struck. They were also used for curing (Lumholtz, *New Trails in Mexico*, pp. 111, 180).

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539[x] dren, but they will be likely to sicken and die first. Then he died on the fourth day.

When Cipas died he went under the earth. He lies there yet.
[823] Whenever he yawns a little and turns over, an earthquake is caused.[5]

When the frog killed her [*sic*] father, the children disagreed about it. Some took the father's part: the frog should die in some fashion for her cruelty. They made up their minds to kill her. When she found she was in danger, she crawled under the earth away from the Colorado until she got to the hot springs. Then she came out to hear if there was any noise. She heard a noise following her. Then she knew she was not safe, so she crawled under the earth again. She came up at a spring.[6] Then she went on until she reached Blackwater,[7] where she emerged to listen to any noise following her. She heard nothing, so she remained there free from danger all her life. There is a small mountain there named for her. Because of her cruelty to her father, whoever resembles her will surely kill his father or brother or sister.

When Cipas died, there was one person they were afraid of, Coyote. They were afraid he might eat him. They all thought that they would send him for fire. He could go better than anyone else. They would send him all the way up to the sun to get fire. So he set off as he was told. Then they built a pile of wood to cremate Cipas. They prepared this because they were afraid of this coyote. (This happened somewhere near the coast. When they emerged and made those people, they took a snake from the sky and coiled it all around the land so the water could not encroach on it. From that time, it will be four thousand years until the flood comes again.) When Coyote started for fire, they took the body and cremated it. When he reached the sun and was about to take the fire, he turned around and saw that they had begun cremating. Then Coyote said, "Well, I have been fooled

[5] This paragraph and the following were interpolated later.

[6] A mile and a half east of Gila Crossing.

[7] Two miles east of Sacaton.

/86 cont./

773 pick up things." "They will need webbed hands to dip up water to drink," was Kokomát's answer. The other insisted also that they be given minds, to know how to use their hands, and Kokomát, becoming angry, threw his clay images into the water and they became ducks and other web-footed creatures. Then Kokomát sank down into the ground; but first, in his anger, he struck the sky and broke it, so that Thoshipá, to keep it from crushing his people, had to support it with his hand at the north, [821] where we still see the marks of his fingers in one of the groups of stars. /87/ Kokomát lay under the ground and became very ill and thin. He rubbed himself, and the sickness flew into the air, turning into birds of many kinds. Then he moved toward the [823] ocean, and said, "Here I lie forever; but whenever I turn over there will be a shaking of the earth and the people will know that Kokomát is moving."

Thoshipá proceeded to make people, placing them in rows, one row for each tribe that was to be, and when all the rows were finished he blew on them from the feet to the head, twice, and life came into their bodies. He gave them languages, each [829] different from the other's, and the last one was the Chemehuevi. By the time he reached their row it was night, and he could not work so well as in the light, so that now no one can understand a Chemehuevi.

The people were left romping about like children. They played games and swam in the water. One of them said, "Thoshipá has a snake; let us send for it and play with it." So a man was sent to bring back the snake, and they played with it, throwing it about and treating it very roughly. At the end of the day they took the snake back. Thoshipá was angry because they had treated it so badly, so digging into the earth, he took gravel, chewed it, and made fangs for the snake. Next day the man returned for the snake, and, taking it up, was bitten. He cried out to Thoshipá that the snake had bitten him, but the creator gave no heed, and the man started back, dying before he could reach his people. When they saw this man dead, they asked each other how he happened to be without life, and learned that the snake had poisoned him. Thoshipá told the people to wrestle and kick each other, and they did so. Then he told them to fight with